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NATO, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC,
AND THE ALLIED NUCLEAR FORCE

(Statement for Contingency Use in
the United Nations Disarmament Commission)

At this juncture of history the whole world recalls that moment 20 years ago, when allied forces, including vast American and Soviet forces, in unison and cooperation, had accomplished the great task of bringing Hitler's barbarism to its end, and when the most destructive war in history was brought to a victorious conclusion in Europe. It seems tragic today to hear again the charges and tirades of the Soviet Delegation and, most inappropriately, once again in the Disarmament Commission from whose labors we seek to make a constructive contribution to efforts to halt the arms race and reduce world tensions.

The Soviet representative has once more disappointed the world with a barrage of words against US actions taken to resist Communist overt or covert forms of aggression.

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Declassified following statement.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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In particular, focusing on Europe and the Federal Republic of Germany, he has once again presented charges which are unrelated to the substance of our work here and do little more than disguise Soviet unwillingness to seek real progress towards a just solution of the German problem.

No one has forgotten the ruthless suppression of the East German uprisings in 1953. Our memory of the crises over Berlin is still vivid; crises designed to succeed where the blockade had failed but in turn not succeeding in crushing the spirit of free men in free Berlin. Nor can one just dismiss that blockade of 1948-49 without condemning it as a callous and brutal measure to starve a city of 2½ million into acquiescence with Communist policy. It failed. And what can one say of the erection of the shameful Wall in Berlin, devised to prevent even greater numbers from fleeing to the West and to freedom. It stands today as a monument to man's inhumanity to his fellow man and to failure to crush the human spirit.

We have not forgotten the first moves of Soviet authorities to split that city which, in the face of heavy Soviet pressures, had in October 1946, in the first and only all-Berlin election opted for freedom and democracy.

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We have not forgotten the pattern of behavior of Soviet officials who systematically eliminated all political opposition to Communist authority in the Soviet zone.

We have not forgotten that it was the Soviet Union which first began building up a sizable "police force" in the Soviet zone and remilitarized that zone in violation of allied agreements at Potsdam and later, including allowing the presence of East German paramilitary units in East Berlin.

We have not forgotten that the Soviet Union systematically and flagrantly violated the wartime and postwar agreements concluded by the Allies to govern the administration of the occupation and rehabilitation of Germany. It has persistently sought to terminate unilaterally the rights of the Western Allies which resulted from the victory over Nazi Germany and which were formalized in numerous agreements concluded with the Soviet government. Only last month these Allies and the people of Berlin were subjected to only the most recent in a long series of harassments.

In East Germany the so-called German Democratic Republic was established in October 1949 by Soviet order, without prior discussion or free elections. The regime's first

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"elections" were held in 1950 under the "bloc-party" system. In 1952 the USSR refused to grant entry into East Berlin and East Germany of a UN Commission to investigate whether there were conditions conducive to free elections. Over the years since then, the East German regime has hardened into an absolute police state dictatorship, perhaps even more reminiscent of Stalin's time than the Soviet Union itself today.

As I stated here on April 26, "We in the West have not in recent times spoken of these deeds. It is not that we have forgotten them..." Once again, and with deep regret, we have been forced to recall them to mind.

In contrast to the record of the Soviet Union and the so-called GDR, is the record of the Federal Republic of Germany. This nation has repeatedly declared that it will not use force to obtain political aims. It has built no Berlin walls. It has engaged in no cruel harassment of others. There are no secret police in the Federal Republic. There are free and democratic elections.

Since 1954, when invited to join NATO by its allies in order to complete the defenses of Western Europe, its force levels have been established by the NATO commanders.

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Its armament has conformed to the specifications in the London and Paris Agreements of 1954, modified where necessary at the request of the NATO commanders and with the full knowledge and approval of both the WEU and NATO nations. The Federal Republic has turned over all of its armed forces to the international NATO command. There is no separate national military program in the Federal Republic. Finally, and very importantly, it has pledged to abstain from producing atomic, bacteriological, or chemical weapons.

To slander and vilify the Federal Republic of Germany is to slander all the countries in NATO. NATO needs no defense since the peoples of the world remember full well that NATO represents a response and not an aggressive initiative. NATO was created at a time when the prospect of Soviet aggression threatened directly or indirectly Western Europe. During the last 15 years, NATO has turned back this threat, but the need for a NATO military force will continue so long as the Soviet Union and its satellites threaten the Atlantic community with the forced imposition of a political and social system repugnant to its ideals.

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The Soviets would have us believe that proposals for an Allied Nuclear Force are only a pretext on the part of the US to place nuclear weapons in the hands of its NATO allies, particularly those of the Federal Republic of Germany. They assert that these proposals give the lie to the United States efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to national states.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Federal Republic of Germany has repeatedly disclaimed any aspirations for national control of nuclear weapons. Today the United States does not have a single nuclear weapon deployed in Europe which is not under its own strict, exclusive custody and control. If, however, interested European states, including the Federal Republic of Germany wish to share through collective arrangements in the nuclear deterrent which is required by NATO to off-set the hundreds of Soviet nuclear missiles threatening Europe, the United States will cooperate to this end. Should the present non-nuclear European powers freely decide that an Allied Nuclear Force offers them the best means of sharing in a nuclear deterrent while leaving them free to devote their nuclear potential and technologies

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exclusively to peaceful uses, then the US will assist in the establishment of such a force. Establishing collective control of nuclear weapons amongst a group of nations, without spreading the capability for national production or for national control of nuclear weapons, is not proliferation. Effective safeguards would ensure that no design information would become available to participants in the collective force. Moreover, any charter established for such a force would provide for a US concurrence in the firing of the weapons.

The Federal Republic has been a steadfast advocate of general and complete disarmament. It has faithfully carried out its international commitments and obligations. It has become a strong force for peace in the international community. It is absurd to try and slander this democratic country. Responsible men in this forum will not be fooled by these propagandistic irrelevancies. I hope that we may have an end to these ridiculous accusations and that this Commission can turn its efforts to the important and constructive tasks which face us. We may even hope that the Soviet spokesmen, in returning to the path of common effort, will be inspired by recollection of that memorable V-E Day of 20 years ago, a triumph brought about by the common labors and common sacrifices of the peoples of much of the world.